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LETTER

TO

His GR--E the D--E of B----d. K

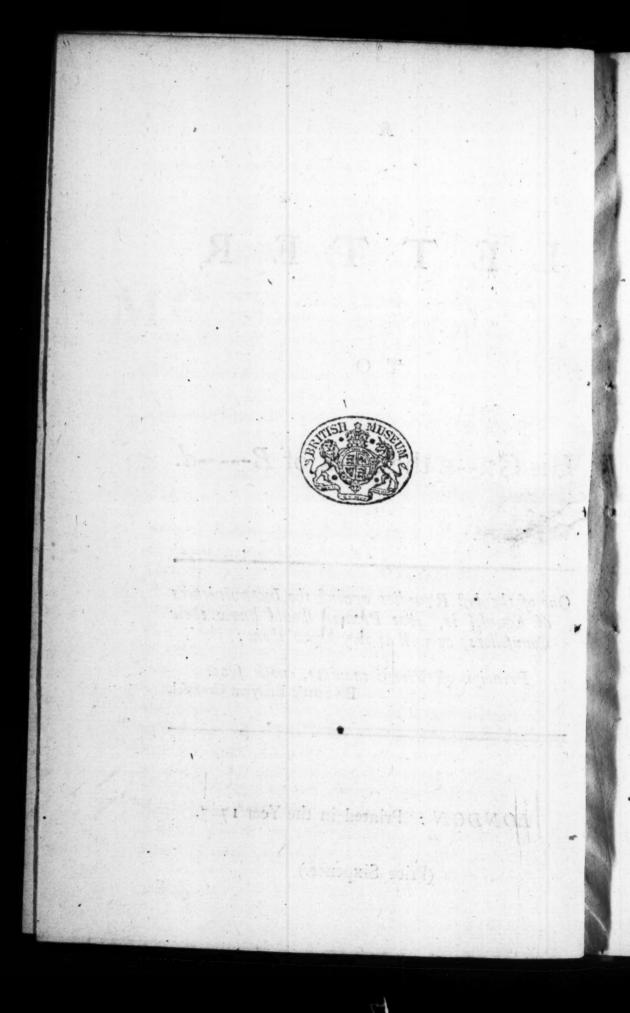
One of the best Remedies against the Inconveniences of Counsel is, that Princes should know their Counsellors, as well as they know them:

Principis est Virtus maxima, nosse suos.

BACON'S Essay on Counsel.

LONDON: Printed in the Year 1757.

(Price Sixpence:)



Viens, who defined as A fir interells, yet contents, yet contents who will content to the content of the conten Adheren to the Principle, insdestrem always needlary to the Chef Chef; and from being

confidence of the C O Tey maintained their In-

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Influence was held up, when is flure your Gr----

that the Assomment of Shippers, and the No-monstion to Titles in the Mill dwd wmonly Grandings made are of the Gentlands to their HIS Letter is addressed to your Grand by one who has not, nor ever expects to have the Honour of being known to your by one, not tempted to the Undertaking, by Profpects of Preferment and private Advantage, nor instigated to it by any Aversions or Attachments in respect to the Parties which at present subsist in I—d. The Intention of the Writer, is to give your Gr-, a clear and just Idea of the State of Parties in this K-m, and by so doing, to warn your Gr— of the Danger to which the Public, thro' you, may be exposed, from the Intrigues of ambitious Men: His Motive (which he hopes; will be an Apology for an Address of this Nature) is the public Service, the Advantage which may refult to a Community, of which he is a Member, from a wife, impartial, and virtuous Administration.

B

A few

A few private Men, have for feveral Years, almost intirely governed this If-d. Tho' their Views were different as their Interests, yet they centered in one Point, which gave Life and Consequence to the whole Body; and that was, never to permit a Ch-f G-r to interfere in the domestic Ad-n of the K-m. Their steady Adherence to this Principle, made them always necessary to the Ch-f G-r; and from being considerable at the C-e, they maintained their Influence in the H-e of C-ns. Your Gr-e doubtless, who has resided among a People where Acquisitions of this Nature come pretty dear, will be aftonished at the cheap Rate at which this Influence was held up, when I affure your Gr—e, that the Appointment of Sh——ffs, and the No-mination to Titles in the M—l—a, were the only Gratuities made use of by these Gentlemen to their Friends. The one as infamous as the other is ridiculous; by the former, the Power of Injustice and Oppression was lodged in the Hands of those who. were fo abandoned as to look for it, by the latter the Vanity of weak Minds was flattered; who conscious of Demerit as to real Honours, fatisfied with fuch as were imaginary. Of

Such was the Foundation of the Power of the Cabal (for fo I shall for the Sake of Brevity call these Gentlemen) their Dependance increased daily, and at last they ruled the lower H—e of P—t without Controul; for I cannot call the seeble Efforts of a few Men, without Abilities, without Spirit, an Opposition. To the Cabal the successive L—d L—ts were condemned to remit the whole Authority

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Authority of the St—e. They in Return undertook, for that was their Phrase, (from whence a merry L—d L—t would never call them by any other Name than that of The Undertakers) to do what is said to be the K—'s Business; but which is in Truth the Procurement of all such Supplies as the E—h M—r thinks proper to demand, and to prevent any Examination into the Accounts of the preceding Years.

Some L—d L—ts submitted unwillingly to the Disgrace of being thus managed, and of acting so mean and insensible a Part. But what could they do? There was no other Power to which they could resort, if they resused the prossered Assistance of the Cabal; whereas with such Pilots at the Helm, they were sure of steering a safe and pleasant Course, without any Russing or Disorder. Besides, most of them were appointed to the G—t to repair their shattered Fortunes; and all of them had rapacious S—t—s, who could not sleece the People, but under the Protection of the Cabal.

Such was for many Years, the passive tranquil Situation of the C—ns of I—d, and, in Consequence, of every Inhabitant in this K—m. We now, my L—d, approach a Scene of Action. That happy Lethean stupor, like all other earthly Things, at last suffered a Dissolution. We are now come to that Period, when Doctor St—e, in the Flower of Youth, was promoted to the Pr—y, a Station to which none before him had been exalted, till the Decline of Life.

B 2

It is not to be wondered at, that the rapid Progress of this young Ec-c, thro' the Dignities of his Order, and who was now not only at the Head of the Ch-h, with an immense Income, but of the St-e, should inspire him with Notions, and the Cabal with Suspicions; each had hitherto been Strangers to. It was some Time however, before the Extent of his Views were difcovered. His feeming Moderation and inoffensive Demeaner, veiled his boundless Ambition. His Entertainments and Connections were fuited to his Youth, and feemed rather to proceed from Motives of Pleasure than Ambition. His Curtefy, Affability, and hospitable Table, recommended him univerfally. As yet the Cabal were not alarmed; fo long as he made no Attempts to interfere in their Department, the Business of the H-se of C-ns, they left him in the quiet Possession of his new acquired Popularity.

By Degrees this young Statesman insinuated himself into the Affections of many of the Young, and of some of the Old, of the H—se of C—ns. He now began to encourage privately the Murmurs of the People against the Soporisic Qualities of the Cabal, who stifled all Measures that were calculated for redressing the N—l Grievances, or which might give any Rub to the Wheels of G—v—t, in the Track they thought it proper to have them run. He daily ventured to open his Intentions of forming a Party in the H—se, at first to a few, and being encouraged by them, to all whom he had any Hopes of drawing to his Party.

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These Attempts to undermine the long established Power of the Cabal, became soon the Object of the penetrating Eyes of those experienced Veterans. Their Indignation broke out into Action, and convinced the young Adventurer that his Schemes were discovered. He on the other Hand sound, that it would be to no Purpose longer to keep Measures with the Cabal. Accordingly the Masque was thrown off, War was proclaimed in Form between the contending Powers, and a Standard was publickly erected, to which all who expected Preferment in the C——h or St——e, or who were disgusted at the Proceedings of the Cabal, of which there were not a Few, were invited to resort.

No direct Acts of Hostility had as yet commenced; and each of the Cabal resolved privately to try what Advantage they could make of the Pr—'s Power, now become truly formidable from the Countenance of the E—h M—r. But they were all deceived in their Expectations; the Pr—'s Politics flew higher than they imagined. He resolved to transfer the Management of p—c Business entirely out of their Hands into his own, and had nothing less in his Intentions than to suffer any one of them to participate in his Ad—n:

The first of the Cabal who tendered his Services to the Pr—e, was C—r, M—r of the R—lls. He was aged and infirm, perhaps not always so much so as he affected to appear; yet his Mind did not submit to the Tyranny of Time, penetrating,

penetrating, restless, and enterprizing; his Parts shone brightest when Accident or Necessity called them forth. He made his Application to the Pr-e, and his Terms were, that his Son should have a Grant of the R-v-n of his Em-t: The Pr-e who had already swallowed that profitable Office in his Imagination, supposing the M--r to be much nearer his End, than by fatal Experience he found him to be, with more Clearness than is usual in a Statesman, but which in him is excusable, as he was rarely afterwards guilty of the same Mismanagement, absolutely refused to comply with his Request. Enraged at this Difappointment, the M-r, whose Experience or Age had by no Means subdued the Violence of his Passions, vowed Vengeance against the Pr-e, and upon fuch Occasions his Veracity was never to be doubted. However his first Attempts to stir up the Cabal, of which he was a Member, to vindicate his Cause, were fruitless; the same Views which put him upon an Application to the Pr—e, restrained them from encouraging upon this Occafion, the Transports of his Fury.

The Sp—r who was the first Name, tho' not the Leader of the Cabal, was advanced in Years, and weary of Business; his Family was numerous, and his Office and Situation obliged him to live at a great Expence, in a continued Course of Solicitation. He had for some Time formed a Design of retiring, provided he could do it with Honor and Profit; all which he hoped to effect by the Assistance of the Pr—e. He was therefore at this Time averse to any Rupture with him.

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Upon the like Principle of Interest, Mr. M-e, the grand Spring and Director of the Cabal, was immoveable. He had for some Time obsetved with Pleasure, the declining State of C-r's Health, upon whose Office he had fixed his Eye, and had no less Satisfaction in his Disappointment, making no Doubt that it was upon his Account folely, that the Pr—e had rejected C—r's Suit. Formidable from his Alliance, his Par—m—v Skill, and his Oratorial Powers, he had not as yet the least Suspicion that the Pr-e would venture to act without him, much less against him. He had all the Reason in the World to expect the contrary; the Pr—e, when B—p of D—y, having promised him his Assistance to procure for his Brother the S-r G-l's Place. These Motives for fome Time, kept Mr. M-e, and consequently the Cabal quiet.

The Pr—e in the mean Time, formed to himself mighty Projects. The Cardinals Richlieu and Mazarin, were the Objects of his Admiration and Imitation; and he studied Politics, Morality, and Divinity, in his favourite De Retz.

Mr. M—e would have been the readiest Influment of his Ambition, but his Independence made him appear less suited, and his Abilities more dangerous to the Pr—'s projected Greatness. Besides, in Business (the Character the Pr—e most of all affected, and of which he was not incapable) Mr. M—e was intractable and overbearing, and the Consciousness of superior Talents, made him treat the Understandings of others with a Degree

a Degree of Contempt, at a Time when he least meaned to give Offence. The yielding and pliant Temper of Mr. 7-1, was more fuited to the exalted Notions of the Pr-e. He had no Sufpicion that his Abilities would fuffer an Eclipse from the Coadjutorship of that Gentleman; and his dependent Situation rendered his Fidelity to him undoubted.

Mr. T-l was at this Time making the closest Application imaginable to his Gr-e, for the S-r's Place. The only Difficulty which stood in the Way of his Promotion, was the Promise made by the Pr—e to Mr. M—e: That however was at last surmounted by the same prelatical Distinction, which apologised for the Confent of Charles the First, to the Execution of Lord Strafford. At the Time he made the Promise, he " was but B—p of D—y, and in a private "Station; his Affection to Mr. M-e, in his " private Capacity, had induced him to make that "Promise, but now he was at the Head of the "State, he was to confider himself in his public "Character, and to proceed upon public Princi-" ples, not upon private Motives, and was there-" fore bound in Conscience, to break that Promise, " which he had made without any View to the "Public." And thus for Conscience Sake, Mr. T was made Suc of G and proges mid shout

This Step being taken, it was plain the Pr intended to keep no Measures with Mr. Mee, who in Truth was become the Object of his Hatred, or rather of his Fear: And the M-r's Place, which had hitherto been held out to Mr. a Degree

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M—e at a Distance, was now promised to Mr. P—y, tho' it is suspected upon no unwarrantable Foundation, that it never was intended for either.

The E-l of B-b-h, beholding with an envious Eye, the Profits which the Cabal daily drew from their Influence in the lower H—e, had long laboured to establish an Interest there, in Opposition to that of the Cabal, but he had hitherto been baffled by their superior Subtilty and Power. An Opportunity now offered of forming a Connection, by which he hoped to effect his Purpose as to that Particular, and of participating with the Pr—e, the Considence of the E—h M—r, and the Favours of the Court.

Agreements are soon concluded between Persons whose mutual Interest it is to be united. Reciprocal Vows of eternal Friendship passed between the Pr—e and the Noble E—l. All Efforts must be made to place Mr. P—y his Son, in the Chair of the House of C—s; that done, every thing would be at their Disposal.

It must not be supposed that Motives of Friendship were the Bond of this Union. The E—I was too far advanced in Years, and too much experienced in Life, to act upon such uncommon Principles. The Pr—e was too much the Statesman, to be held by such feeble Ties. The true Principles of each were, that the E—I thinking the Pr—e to be more attentive to Power than to Riches, sed himself with the Hopes of drawing all the Profits of this Union to himself; the

Pr—e inordinately ambitious, made no Doubt of governing the intended Sp—r, (whose Levity it must be consessed, did not a little countenance such Expectations) as he pleased, and by that Means of bringing the whole Power of the St—e into his own Hands.

To make Way for the intended Promotion of Mr. P-y, by the Speaker's Relignation (for his Removal now began to be dispaired of) was the greatest Difficulty the confederate L-ds thought they had to encounter. To bring this about, they endeayoured to make his Chair uneafy to him, the usual Practice upon such Occasions: by which they expected to make him defirous to quit it, and to lower his Terms for doing fo. Accordingly the Sp-r was no longer taken into Consultation at the C-e, except for Form Sake, and not until every Thing had been previously refolved on, which could come into Deliberation: and there was in every Thing, an Affectation of carrying on the publick Bufiness, which before passed through his Hands, without his Assistance or Interpolition. A Report was at the same Time industriously spread, that a fecret Treaty was carried on between the L-d L-t and the Sp-r, concerning his Refignation; this was contrived for two Purposes; to found the Intentions of the Sp—r upon that Subject, and to create Jealousies of him in his Friends; but this Experiment produced very different Confequences from what the young Politician, its Author, expected.

It is not improbable from the Conduct of the Sp-r, before and fince the Period of which we now

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now treat, that he (had not Indignities been offered to him) would have accepted Terms much less advantageous, than those which the others afterwards were willing to give, but this mortifying Treatment roused his drooping Spirits: He summoned all his Friends together, affured them in the most folemn Manner, that he never had entertained a Thought of quitting the Chair, and vowed he never would, so long as they were willing to support him in it. The Simplicity, and unaffected Eafe of this Gentleman's Address, and a Politeness which feemed rather to flow from his Nature, than to be the Effect of Education or Acquisition, rendered him amiable even to those who most opposed him. In Appearance most open, in Fact none more referved: He had the Art of drawing from others their Thoughts, and of concealing his own, on the most important Subjects, without feeming to defire either, and without the least Appearance of Constraint. He heard well, and spoke little. but generally formed a found Judgment of Men and Things. He treated those, with whom he wished to stand well, with such Attention and Propriety, that he was carefled by them as a plain honest Country Gentleman. He had been ranged to the Chair, and supported in it by the People, at least without the Affiliance of the Government. if not in Opposition to it; and he had upon some Occasions, shewed a notable Firmness in relitting Attacks which had been made upon him, in ear rying Matters through the High which Matters ho wever were not always much for his Credit. It is not to be wondered at, that this Man became popular, but it is surprizing that he should pre-SIST C2

ferve his Popularity so long, even at Times when he was doing the most unpopular Acts. The Honesty of his Countenance, and his Manner of Expression, warm, interesting, and affectionate, made every Thing he said credited by those who suspected him most. But the Method he took to make People believe he conferred Obligations on them, was in its Success miraculous.

Upon these Irruptions of growing Discontents, C-r, who had for some Time remained quiet, under the Pretence of Age and Infirmities, thought it necessary for him now to make his Appearance upon the Stage again. No Man knew Times or Occasions better, and no one was more active in making the most of them.

Ipse ratem conto subigit, velisq. ministrat, Et serruginea subvectat corpora Cymba, Jam Senior: Sed cruda Deo viridisque Senectus,

But though he had not publickly appeared fooner in Action, he had not been in the mean Time unemployed. Knowing, perhaps not intirely from his own Experience, of what Confequence the Character of Integrity and Virtue is even to a Statesiman, he with great Industry and Secrecy spread about Misrepresentations of the Pr—e, as a Man devoid of all Principles of Religion and Honour; as a Monster swayed by unnatural Appetites. To the first of these Charges, it must be confessed, the Pr—e gave some Countenance, by a Conduct a little too free for a Person at the Head of the Ec—l Body. Having had a liberal Education

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Head Eduation cation himself, and having always lived with those who had, he could not confine himself within the narrow Sphere of his Profession. There was more Foundation for the Second than for any other Part of the Charge. He was not always as cautious in his Promises as Prudence required. Even when he did not promise, his Answers from a Fear of offending, and a Defire of uniting every Body to him, were expressed in such a Manner, as drew in the Persons to whom they were given, to guess at more than he meaned. A Practice often used by Statesmen, but which seems as little agreeable to good Policy, as it is to Morality. Hence every Body left him contented and affured of his Friendship, receiving all his Expressions of Kindness as fo many absolute Promises of what they solicited. It is not then very extraordinary that he should be charged with many Breaches of Faith, and that the Truth of those Aspersions on this Head, with which he was so frequently bespattered, should be attested by many. To the last abominable Charge, his Virtue gave Rife. Whether from a Coldness in his Constitution, or what is more probable, out of Respect to his Ep——I Function, he totally abstained from Women. It was impossible in a Country, which piques itself upon indespensable Attachments to the Fair Sex, that this should not be taken Notice of, and become a general Topic of Conversation. His Enemies laid hold of this Opportunity to blacken his Character, with the Imputation of a Vice, the more easily credited, the more abominable; and to which some of his Connections, for which People could not eafily account, did not a little contribute. C-r, C—r, finding that his Poison had wrought the desired Effects, and that the Minds of the Public, as well as of the Cabal, were prepared to receive whatever Impressions he pleased to make, began to hobble abroad on his Cane;

With Visage black, and simp'ring ghastly Smile, The rueful Portent of impending Storms.

He convened the Cabal, and made a short but quickening Speech, to excite them to Revenge: the only Species of Eloquence in which he excelled; then he represented to them, that the D-ke of D-t, who had beee appointed at this Time L-d L-t, was absolutely at the Disposal of the Pr-e, that they could never hope to recover their Influence over the C-e by gentle Means, that Threats and Terrors would be more efficacious than Entreaties, that they must exert their Power in some signal Instance, and shew, that none could act with Safety, but under their Protection; and he concluded by proposing Mr. N-17-s as the first Victim of their Wrath. The Proposal was no sooner made than agreed to. A fitter Subject for the Purpose, could not be selected, than Mr. N---l, whose haughty Carriage had given Offence to many. Thro' his Hands, as S-v-r G-l, much of the public Money had pass'd, for the erecting and repairing the B-ks, and most of the Work had been fraudulently, and all of it unskilfully executed. The Character of Mr. N-l as to Honesty, then was, and still remains unfullied, but his Misfortune was, that he could. could not persuade others to have the same Opinion of his Significance and Understanding, which he himself had entertained, and his Innocence had but little Weight, when put into the Scale against his Relationship to the Pr—'s first Favourite, and his Attachment to that Prel—e. The Pr—e, as had been foreseen by the Cabal, unfortunately for Mr. N—l, as well as for himself, undertook his Desence. This only served to draw on a stricter Inquiry, and a severer Punishment; the Desence was as unpopular, as the Prosecution was the Reverse.

But the Cabal did not as yet determine to proceed to Extremities. The two principal Members of it were still desirous of leaving Room for a Reconciliation, upon advantageous Terms for themselves. They meaned not to make Things desperate, but only to shew what they could do, if they should be reduced to Extremities. For that Reason, this Prosecution, in which the Expectation of the Public was much engaged, ended for the present in several severe, not to say, hard Resolutions, against the wretched N——1. Cabal were however determined not to part with him thus. By a Resolution that he should make good the Contracts at his own Expence, they referved a Power to themselves, of resuming this Affair, at a future Day, if Occasion should re-The Pr-e did not comprehend the Extent of this last Resolution; and as he had more Apprehensions of Mr. N—l's Expulsion, than Uneafiness for the Character of his Friend, he submitted without Opposition, to Resolutions he in Truth had not Strength to prevent, and exulted

as upon a Victory, that Matters had not been pushed farther.

The Cabal were not satisfied with this single Inflance of their Power, and the Pr—'s Weakness. The C-—ns, in an Address to his M—y,
for which there did not seem to be the least public
Occasion, glanced at the Pr—e, in a Manner that
could not be mistaken, and at the Conclusion of
the S—n, took their Leave of the D—e of
D—t with unusual Coldness.

The Pr—e, tho' not a little mortified, was still happy that he had got over the S—n with so few Disasters, and fed himself with Hopes, that before the next Meeting of P—t, he should acquire Strength sufficient, not only to resist, but to overpower the Cabal. Invested with the whole Power of the Cr—n, and unawed by P—t during the Interval, he now governed the C—h and St—e, without Control.

But notwithstanding these great Advantages, contrary to his own, and the Expectations of others, he gained but little Strength; the Cabal counteracted every Thing he did, and with infinite Industry painted him in the most odious Colours, to all Denominations of People.

To the *Pref*—ns, ever jealous of E—I Power, the Cabal paid much Court; and by Means of one Br—e, who had gained an unaccountable Influence over that Sect, drew them to their Party. Mr. M—e was the Perfon the most respected and most intrusted by the P—ts, of

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any in the K—m. He moderated their Counfels, and had supported their Interest, even publickly, when Occasion required. Thro' him the whole Strength of that Body was united to the Cabal.

They likewise drew into their Party, and seemingly into their Considence, the E-I of K—e, a Nobleman of the first Rank and Fortune, whose Family had long been much respected by the People, and who had himself received a personal Disobligation from the Pr—e; whose Intrigues had not long before prevented him from being admitted to a Share in the G—v—t. The Name of this Nobleman drew much Respect, and his Connections in E—d, added great Strength to the Party.

those who were likely to do, than to those But what wonderfully recommended the Cabal to the Public, in a Country where Drinking is the prevailing Vice and principal Occupation, was the extraordinary Abilities of its Members in that ftrange Qualification, So agreeable and so suited to the Genius of the People was this Vice, that Mr. M—e was not more respected for his Talents in the Sen—e, than for those of the Bottle. His Powers of fitting long, and bearing a great deal of Wine, were the Envy of every aspiring Politician at that Time. What he wanted in respect to the Entertainment of the Company, was abundantly made up by C-r, whose Archness, Vivacity, and Wit, kept the Table in a Roar; to which his Figure, and exact Representation of Heraclitus ridens, did not a little contribute. him is ascribed the facetious Invention of conveying more.

Saryr in Toasts, of which such wonderful Use was then made, by publishing them in the News-Papers, and dispersing them through the K——m. Thus were Business and Pleasure reconciled, and at the same Time the Country Gentleman relished the Flavour of his Bumpers, he gulped down the most refined Apothegins of Politicks. Drinking in this Manner answered the Purposes of uniting the Company, and of sharpening the Wit and Malice of Individuals against the common Enemy.

During this Time, the Pr e made not the Advantages of his Power, which might have been expected: He advanced into his Confidence, Men of moderate Abilities, and less Reputation: He rewarded the best Services by receiving them graciously, and his Countenance was turned rather towards those who were likely to do, than to those who had done him Services! He was accessible and courteous to ally but then his Civilities were not proportioned to the Perfons, and therefore the less regarded. But what principally offended feveral good Men, who were well inclined to him, was that he affected to talk too lightly of the Constitution, and with some Ridicale of public Spirit, By these Means he rendered some of those who were most capable of ferving him, at least lukewarm in, if not totally regardless of his Interest

As the Time of opening the S—n approached, the Spirits of the Cabal, or rather of the People, for now they were one, role higher, and those of the Pr—e funk in Proportion. Apprehensive of Danger, he took some Steps towards an Accommodation; but they seemed only to inflame Matters

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offers injudiciously made, and haughtily rejected, lessened the Opinion of his Power, and increased that of the Party.

At length the wished for Time arrived; the S-n was opened, but not with that Vigor which was expected, and in Truth intended. The Cabal were the Night before the Meeting, alarmed by the Defection of a few of those on whom they depended. This made them doubtful of Success: A Defeat might be fatal; It was therefore thought more prudent to try their Strength upon Ground they had already fought upon with Safety; thus the favourite Profecution was again revived, and N-l after several unsuccessful Attempts in his Favour, expelled, but by a finall Majority. This Victory was however far from being decifive. The Cabal faw with Concern, that their Strength was not fo much superior to the Pr--'s as they had' represented, and in Truth believed it to be. For this Reason they thought expedient not to push Matters farther at that Time, but to wait for fome more favourable Opportunity. However in fome short Time after, the Strength of both Parties, as by mutual Confent, was tried upon an E-ion. Victory, for a long Time doubtful, declared at last for the Pr-e, by a Majority of one, to which Accident did not a little contribute, and gave to the H——e a Member who is an Honour to it.

This was the first Deseat the Cabal had ever met with, and affected the very Foundation of all their Greatness. Something must be done to D 2 repair repair this Loss, the bolder the more likely to please the People. Extremities are always dangerous, but they are wise Measures when they are necessary. If the S—n should end quietly, the Success of the Pr—e would be infallable; the Interval between the S—ns would give him, who was armed with all the Powers of G—v—t, sufficient Time to establish himself, and put it out of their Power ever to remove him. Besides most of their Troops were necessitous, and must be fed. The Cabal were but ill able to support those Expences, which they sound even then very grievous to them, and which were submitted to, merely from Necessity.

From these Motives, it was resolved by the Cabal to start a Question about the Pr-g-ve. In this they were fure of having the People on their Side. The Application of the redundant Money in the Tr-y afforded a proper Opportunity for this Purpose. A B—II had passed the S—n before for applying some of the redundant Money in the Tr-y, in discharge of Part of the N-1 Debt, in which a Preamble was inferted by the K---'s Servants, which was not relished by the People: And for permitting which the Cabal had undergone some Censure; but the Cabal were not at that Time drove to Extremities. The Majority of the Com-ee, appointed now to prepare Heads of a Bill for the like Purpose, were either Members of the Cabal, or under its Influence: So that it was determined to omit in this Draft, the Preamble which had been inferted in the former

The Pr-e upon this Occasion, summoned a few of his most intimate Friends, to consult what Step should be taken. The only Doubt was, whether an Amendment in these Heads of a B-11, should be proposed to the H-e upon the R-p-t, or whether they should be permitted to pass in the Shape they were brought in, and the Alteration of them left to be made in E——d. The latter of these Methods was resolved on, and followed, upon this Reasoning; If the B-ll when altered in E——d, should upon its Return, be passed by the C-ns, the Cabal must inevitably lose their Interest with the People: If the Cabal should oppose it, that would be a good Pretence to deprive them of their Em——ts, which they held at the Will of the Cr——n, and of which the Pr-e hoped to have the Disposal. To make the Game more fecure, and to engage the Cr—n more deeply in the Contest, a Letter was procured to accompany the B-II to the Pr—y C——II, figned by most of the Officers of St—e, in Gr—t Br—n, declaring that, it was a Point of Pr-e, from whence his M--y would never depart. As Councils too fubtil often produce contrary and unthought of Ends, fo this, tho' it had the immediate Effects which had been foreseen, yet in the End it produced very different Consequences, from what he who gave it expected. The B-ll was rejected in the C-ns by a Majority of F-ve, in Consequence of which, several of the principal Members of the Cabal were immediately removed from their Em—ts: An Act the most uncon—tu—1, as well as the most dangerous, which could be attempted

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tempted. At these violent Proceedings the whole N—n took Fire. The degraded Members of the Cabal exalted by their Disgrace, became the Idols of the People, and were worshipped as Martyrs for the Liberties of their Country. In this Temper, it was hazardous, to let the C—ns, who had been adj—'d for a few Days, meet. The Par—t was suddenly pr—r—d, and several B—lls, equally necessary to the Cr—n as to the Sub—t, sell to the Ground.

The Pr—e who was confidered as the Author of all these Measures, despairing to gain the Affections of the People, determined to awe them into Submission by others still more violent. He urged the D-e of D-t to remove from their Em—ts, not only all who opposed him, but those whom he suspected to have any Connection with the Cabal. But the D—e had not Courage or Vigour of Mind equal to fuch an Undertaking. He dreaded the Tumults of the People, every Shout of the Mob threw him into Panics, and this being known, they never let him rest a Moment. However, for the present, to rid himself of Importunities, he promised the Pr-e, that upon his Return to E—d, which he wished for with the utmost Impatience, he would do every Thing he could defire. The D—e of D—t foon after this, under the Protection of the G-ds, and of a Mob hired and made drunk for the Purpose, by a Man who was amply rewarded for that Service, by a P-n on the public Est-bl-t, made his Escape out of this K-m. The

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The Pr—e who was continued in the G—v—t, employed every Expedient of Menaces and Promises to break the Party. Threats could not terrify those who had so bold an Example set before them by their Leaders, and who were secure of the Protection of the People. Rewards would not seduce those who foresaw the Downfall of the Pr—e, and were made to expect much greater, and more permanent Rewards, from the Exaltation of the Cabal, which they now looked upon as certain. But what principally kept Men steady, was the Disgrace of becoming Apostates from those Principles, which they had before considered with a kind of Religious Reverence.

The Indignation of the Public, was still increafed against the Pr—e, by his injudicious Choice of Persons to fill the vacant Employments, in which he shewed more Inclination to gall his Adverlaries, than Attention to ferve himself. this Principle alone can the Advancement of Mr. H—— Il to the Ch——rship of the Ex——r be accounted for. Mr. S-g-n was equally obnoxious to the Person he was appointed to succeed; but what contributed most to his Promotion was, that it was thought he could not live many Months; and there was another ready to fill up his Place. Mr. St-d, a Man of more Vanity than Ambition, was prevailed on to undergo the Odium of fucceeding Mr. M—e, by being told that his M-j-y had himself nominated him to that Office, and had begged that he would accept of it to oblige him. By these Promotions no new Strength was acquired, or old confirmed.

first of these Promotions shewed, what kind of Merit was the best Recommendation to the Pr—e. And every Body saw that the other two Persons, whose Understandings were much impaired by Years and Labor, were put into these Employments only for the present, that their Names might sanctify the Action. As the Pr—e daily became more odious, so all who opposed him grew into Favor with the People. At length the Clamor became so universal and so outrageous, that the Con—tu—n itself seemed threatened with some violent Convulsion.

The Person who had then the Direction of Affairs in E-d, was upon these Disturbances in Ir-d feifed with a Panic, of which it is faid he is very susceptible, and determined to sacrifice his Friend the D—e of D——t to his Fears. But tho' he condescended to gratify the People in that Particular, yet it was not out of any Affection he had for them, but rather on the contrary Principle, as appears by the Choice of the Person he fent in his Place. In this he feems to have followed the Example of Cæsar, who on a Disgust he had taken to the rebellious Africans, revenged himself by making the corrupt Saluft their Governor; who did them more Hurt by his private Family, than a Conqueror would have done with the most numerous Army. The Downfall of the D--e of D-t, was not more pleasing to the Cabal, than the Appointment of his Successor, whose Promotion had been brought about by the Intrigues of Mr. F-x, with whom the E-1 of K-e was known to be in the closest Union,

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It is the Fate of Alliances which are produced only by the Spirit of Interest, that the same Cause which gave them Birth should destroy them with The E—l of B—b—gb, still greater Ease. whose natural Sagacity is much improved by the Lights of Experience, invariably attentive to his own Interest, had long foreseen the Downfal of the Pr-e, and had determined not to be buried in his Ruins. In the mean Time however, and while the Pr---'s Power lasted, he thought it prudent to make the best Use he could of it, to enrich himself, and establish his Family Interest. Ever complaining, and expressing Jealousies if any Thing was refused him, he forced the Pr-e (who was afraid of being suspected to intend, what in Truth he wished, to form a separate Party) to gratify him in ail he defired. But the better to carry on the Farce, tho' one would think, that neither could be a Stranger to the Politics of the other, every Body who was promoted either in Ch—h or St—e, took the Oaths of Allegiance to both, as if the Union was indisfoluble.

Nothing could be more favourable to the Politics of this fagacious E——I, than the Appointment of the M——fs of H——t——n to the G——v——t. Thro' him he hoped to reconcile himself to the Cabal, and by the Assistance of the Cabal, he expected to raise his Son to the Ch——r of the H——e of Com——ns; tho' they had been the very Persons who had instanced the N—t—n against him and his Family, whom they had by the most execrable Imprecations devoted to Destruction. But to remove Suspicions from

from the Mind of the Pr—e, he renewed all his Engagements with him, and most folemnly protested, he would stand or fall with him; adding to his Vows a Flood of Tears, as a Proof of his Sincerity.

At this Time a fecret Treaty was carried on and concluded between the new L---d L--t--t, and the two principal Members of the Cabal, before his Arrival in this K----m, thro' the E---l of K----e. To this Treaty the E----l of R----b---gh, was not only privy, but was confenting. This Treaty was kept as fecret as possible. It was the Interest of all the Parties concerned in it, that it should be so, the divulging it would defeat all the Ends proposed by it.

But the this Agreement was made, much still remained to be done. Several Persons were to be managed, and Things were to be settled in Detail, which, as yet, were only agreed upon in the Gross: This required the L—d L—t—t's Presence here sooner than is usual. To guard against an In—v—n, was made the Pretence for his coming.

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Upon his Arrival every one hastened to pay their Court to the new G--v--r, and to obferye his Motions. He on his Part, received graciously, talked to, and caressed those, who had most violently opposed his Predecessor, while he treated with Coldness, and even Contempt, those who had courageously withstood the popular Torrent, in Desence of those Rights, which his

M----y had most solemnly and most publicly declared, he never would depart from. A Policy that did not feem to fuit well, either with the Interest or Honor of his M----ft----r, tho' possibly fome present Advantage might be reaped from it. It is not furprifing that this Conduct should be fuspected by most People; it appeared to those who had been in Opposition, as a Feint only to amuse them, whilst his real Intentions, to which they did not doubt but his Actions would correspond, were to favour his own Family, with whom they supposed the Pr---e inteparably connected. In these Suspicions they were confirmed by those of the Cabal, who were in the Secret; who the better to conceal what was intended, continued to encourage the groffest Abuse against the Family of the P----by's. On the other Hand, the P----e persuaded his Friends, and possibly was so persuaded himself, that the L----d L----t's Intention was only to gratify the Cabal for the prefent, and by that Means to break and difunite the Party; which he should no fooner have done, than be would take those by the Hand (that was the Phrase) whom he was obliged at present to discountenance, for Fear of discovering his Design. Thus each Party rested fecure in their Leaders, waiting only for Orders when and how to act.

In the mean Time the Cabal talked of nothing but Imp-----ts and Expulsions. This answered two Purposes; It prevented the Public from sufpecting what was really intended, and struck Terror into the Pr----e. The Leaders of the Cabal well knew that he would rest contented with the E² 2 Loss

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is y Loss of his Power, happy, if they stopped there: Such is the State of the most innocent Politician, that he must often do Acts, which will not bear a public Examination.

The L----d L----t, on the other Hand, assured the Pr---e of his Friendship and Protection: Told him: "He had with great Difficulty " prevailed on the Cabal to consent, to drop the " violent Measures which they had intended against " him, but it was upon Condition he submitted " with Patience to their Power, and kept his " Friends filent; that for his Part, he was ob-" liged to yield to the Fury of the Times, and " countenance Men whom he detested. That as " foon as the Party was broke, which he could " effect only by this Compliance, he should be at " Liberty to restore the Pr----e to his former " Power, which he should find rather if possible " increased than lessened by his Fall." It was in vain for the Pr---e to struggle. Besides the Danger to which it would expose him, it would disclose his Weakness to the Public. For in Truth his Party was principally made up of Pl----rs; Men dependant on the C----t, who had more Affection for their Pl----s than for him. He therefore thought it advisable to yield with a good Grace when he found himself overpowered, and, accordingly, promised to support all the L----t L----t's Meafures; which he afterwards punctually performed, with more Zeal than (as was thought by fome) was either necessary or prudent. This Behaviour he was certain would be agreeable to fuch of his Friends, as had Pl----s or Pen----ns, as it did not not expose them to any Danger; But his Situation with respect to others, was very delicate. To inform them of what Part he had agreed to act. would endanger the Secret; by concealing it from them, he run the Risque of losing their Affections, if it should ever come to their Knowledge afterwards. However, as to this last Particular, he determined to trust to his Dexterity, in which it must be confessed, he was eminent. He affected to be very open, to tell them all that passed between the L----d L----t and him. "That " the Demands of the Cabal were so high, it " would be impossible for the L---t to " comply with them. That the L---d L----t " would be obliged at last to recur to the Old In-" terest, to which he was really inclined, but that " he was defirous first to try every Expedient to " bring about a general Reconciliation, which he "[The Pr----] knew would be impracticable. "That for his Part, he was refolved not to enter " into any Measures, without the Knowledge and " Concurrence of his Friends, and in the Ad-" vantages of which they should not be included. " That he was ready to pursue such Measures as " they should agree upon, let the Dangers to him-" felf be what they might; for he was resolved to " stand or fall with them. At Times [He faid] " he found the L----d L----t more referved, " at others more communicative, in Proportion " as the Cabal was more or less tractable. That " in his Opinion, it was better to wait the Issue " of the Affair with Patience, than to embark " precipitately upon Measures which might throw " the L---d L----t intirely into the Hands " of the Cabal. Thus did the Pr----e amuse his

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his Friends; amused himself. The Se-n of Par-t drew near, he must now take some public Part. The Night before the H-s were to meet, he summoned his Friends together, and told them in a studied Speech, "That the Time " was not yet come when vigorous Measures were " to be attempted. That to oppose, would be to " act inconsistent with themselves, who had hi-" therto supported the Measures of G-v-t. " That besides, Opposition would be vain, as the " Cabal had fuperior Numbers; fo that by Oppo-" fition they would forfeit all the Merit they had " acquired with the G-v-t by former Ser-" vices, and the Cabal would then have the fole " Honor of carrying the Business thro'; whereas " by concurring in the Meafures, they would share " the Merit with them."

Whilst the Pr—e took so much Pains to lull his Friends to Rest, Mr. M-e and the Sp-r were not less industrious to engage their Party, who were of less passive Spirits, in Pursuits which might divert their Attentions from Objects on which they dreaded left they should fall. For this Purpose, the El-ns which had been disputed with much Acrimony in the Country, were of excellent Use in the H-e, and amused the Tail of the Party. As to those of more Penetration, tho' Mr. M—e and the Sp—r had obtained by their private Agreement what they most wished for themselves, yet it was necessary that some dangerous Mouths should be stopped, whose Expectations were very earnest, before the S-n began, and this could not be easily effected, every Man over-rating his own Services. To remove these Difficulties, -11

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Difficulties, the E-l of K-e, in private Concert with Mr. M—e and the Sp—r, proposed from the Com-e, to all the Members of the Cabal, at a general Meeting, certain Terms, which he faid the L-d L-t-t would grant them: and upon some of the Members hesitating, and not immediately acquiefcing, he roundly declared, " that he thought them as advantageous Terms as " they had a Right to expect, or any L-d " L-t-t Power to grant; and that if they " were so unreasonable as to resuse them, he must " beg Leave to withdraw himself from them, and " from that Instant should consider himself no " longer of their Party." This Declaration afforded Mr. M-e and the Sp-r a fair Pretence for advising, tho' with an affected Reluctance, an Acquiescence in the Terms proposed: To which it was now in vain for others to object.

What was expected, and, in Truth, was most reasonable, was, that all the displaced Mirs should be restored to their Em-ts; but that would not answer the Purpose of Mr. M-e; who had never lost Sight of the M-r's Place. C-r. grown vigorous, and as it were young again, from the late Commotions, seemed to promise long Life. S-g-n, old, infirm, and worn out, appeared ready to drop into the Grave. Upon these Accounts, Mr. Mr. e privately prevailed upon the L-d/L-t to propose giving C-r the Sec-t-'s Place, which was then vacant by the Death of Mr. 8-w-11: and to make it look fomething like an Equivalent for what was taken from him, an additional S-l-y with it; telling the L-d L-t-t

at the same Time, and which afterwards was publicly talked of, That it was enough for the Fellow. The Proposal was accordingly made, and no sooner made than disapproved of by C——r. He was then told by Mr. M——e and the Sp——r, that better Terms could not be had for him. He was obliged to acquiesce, perceiving clearly, that they had made their own Bargain, and that he must be contented with what they pleased to assign him.

Thus was the most active and most useful Engine of the Faction rewarded for his Services to them: The fame Fortune feems to have attended him thro' the whole Course of his Life. Ever intriguing, never reaping any Benefit from his Intrigues; over-reaching Men of great Capacities, he himself often over-reached by Men of inferior Parts. Others he ferved, whilft the World thought he only intended to serve himself. To him may be applied with some Propriety, that Adage of Swift; That some Men are possessed of Qualities which are serviceable to others, but useless to themselves: Like a Sun-Dial on the Front of a House, to inform the Neighbours and Passengers, but not the Owner within. What contributed to prevent his rising in the St-te, was the Idea which all L-d L-t-ts had impressed on them in relation to one Part of his Character. He was faid to be, by one L-d L-t, the very Mountnorris of the Age. "Who, according " to Clarendon, wrought himself into Trust and " Nearness with all Deputies at their first Entrance " upon their Charge; informing them of the De-" fects and Overlights of their Predecessors, and " after the Determination of their Command, in-" forming forming the State. and those Enemies they usu-

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Deind ining C—r, however sensible of the Affront which he had received from his Compeers, accepted the Offers of the C—e with a good Grace, resolving to take the first Opportunity, which he did not think very distant, of Revenge.

Nothing now remained for the Cabal, but to keep up some Appearances with the Tail of their Party in the H—e, and with the People without Doors. Imp-----ts and Exp---ns had been promised, and were expected. But it was now faid by the Cabal, "that fuch Measures were " too violent, that sufficient was done in depriving " the Enemies of Ir—d, of the Power to make " any Attempt upon them." Among other Things it had been expected, that the Pr---vi---e of the People, in Opposition to the Pr-g-e of the Cr-n, which had been infifted upon the last S-n, and which had inflamed Matters to the highest Degree, would be explained, vindicated, and fettled, by those Patrons of Liberty, who had now no longer any to oppose them. To this it was faid; "That had been fufficiently done by " rejecting the B—II, that it was not prudent to " push Things too far; that his M-y had " condescended to remove from all Power, those " who advised those Measures, which was impli-" citly acknowledging the Pr-vi-es of the " People. And as the most convincing Argument " of all, it was said, that the L-d L-t-t " had given Affurances that the fame Question

"should never again be revived." It must be confessed if all his Gr—e's Promises had taken Effect, there could not be any Occasion for the like Question again.

An Ad—— is was prepared by the Cabal, containing a few Reflections upon the last L——d L——t——t, to gratify the People, and many Incomiums upon the present, to gratify him. But so complaisant were the Cabal, that they submitted to send this Ad——s to E——d, for the Approbation of the Min—st—r there, before it should be moved in P————t. The Returns of the Messengers (for many were sent different Ways, for the greater Security and Dispatch) was expected with the utmost Impatience by the L—d L——t. Happily (otherwise the P——t must have been pr—g—d) this Ad——s arrived in a Fortnight, with Alterations, to which the Cabal with equal Servility submitted.

Now was the N—n hushed in Silence, expecting the Meeting of the P——t. At length the P——t met, and the Ad—ss passed without a single Negative; one Gentleman only, with becoming Gravity and Spirit, expressed an honest Indignation, that an Ad—ss should be framed for that H—e in private, by a few designing Men, corrected by an E—sh Min—st—r, and then crammed down the Throats of all the People in the K——m.

It may feem extraordinary to those who do not consider the Circumstances of the Times, that the Storm which had been conjured up to such an Height,

Height, two Years before, should now be laid with such Ease. But it is not Difficult to account for that Phænomenon, without attributing to the Cabal any extraordinary Influence, or to the L—d L—t—t any uncommon Dexterity.

The Safety of the Pr—e, depended upon the Silence of his Friends, and their enduring with Patience, the Indignities offered them, which he had the Address to reconcile them to. The Exaltation of the B----b----gh Family, depended upon the Success of the L-dL-t-t's Administration, and therefore their whole Power was exerted to preserve it. Mr. M--e and the Sp-r had been gratified in every Thing they desired, but had not lost the Confidence of the People, as yet ignorant of the Treaty they had concluded. Moderate Men, attached to no Party, were pleased at seeing the Storm appealed, which had threatened the C-tu-n with Ruin, and hoped that when all was quiet, some Regard would be had to the Public. C-r, and some others, though discontented, knowing an Oppofition would be fruitless, were foremost in promoting all the L-d L-t-t's Measures, with a View to lessen the Merit of their former Friends, now their most inveterate Enemies. There were a few who meaned well to the Public; but for want of a Leader, to which they had been accustomed, and fearing to appear in a small Body, the constant Terror of weak Minds, they run on with the Current.

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History furnishes frequent Examples of such fudden Revolutions in popular Assemblies, such F 2 violent

violent Changes, from one Extreme to the Opposite, and evinces the Truth of this Maxim: That a Multitude is much easier misled than Individuals.

Had Mr. M——e the least Spark of that N---ti---l Spirit, for which he was once honoured, this was the Time to have shewn it, when nothing could have been refused him. Then no one would have envied him the private Advantages for which he contrasted. But instead of acting in this manly Manner, he privately discouraged, embarrassed, and opposed, every Thing that was proposed for the Benefit of the Public, without having Courage to do it openly.

In this Disposition of Minds, it is not surprising, that every Thing that was asked by the C----t, should be readily granted. Tho the Tr---ry was full, the same T---x--s were continued; but lest it should remain so, unlimited Powers for raising of Men, and building of For---si----ns, were given. The Danger of an Inv----n was found to be the most prevailing Argument, and therefore was used upon all Occasions, even the most trifling.

After all these Matters were settled to the Satisfaction of the L---d L----t, and the greatest Part of the S-----n had been wasted in El----ns, to divert the Attention of the People from other Objects, the last Scene of the Entertainment was to be played. The Sp-----r's Intention of quitting the Ch----r was suddenly declared, and the unfortunate

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the ate unfortunate S---r A----r G----e was the last Person in the K----- who heard of it, tho' he had long declared himself a Candidate for it. Flustered at the News, he ran to Mr. M----c, who was prepared to receive him, and told him with much Coolness, that he was at his Service, but assured him it would answer no Purpose; and recommended it to him to make a Compliment of his Pretentions to the L---t: Which Advice, without further Solicitation, he immediately followed. Thus the poor Kn----t was perfuaded by the fame Perfon, with the fame Facility, to refign his Title to the Ch----r, with which he had been induced to aspire to it; and exposed himself equally to Ridicule, by attempting one, and relinquishing the other. Many Hours had not passed before he repented this hasty Step. The People were so enraged at this unexpected Turn, that they became clamorous in his Behalf, and if he had stood firm, he would have been well supported; not indeed from any Affection to him, but to disappoint those Measures, to which they were now, but too late, sensible, the Interest of K-----m had been facrificed.

In this Manner was Mr. P----y, without Opposition, elected Sp----r, rather by the Weakness of his Opponent, than by his own Strength; but not without the Mortification of hearing several Negatives given to him, by some of the worthiest Men in the H----e. And upon this Account was Mr. B---le rewarded with an E---ld---m, and a Pen----n of two Thousand Pounds a Year, for thirty-one Years, for quitting a Ch----r, and a Party,

a Party, both of which he had been long fince tired of.

Mr. M----e, who had facrificed his simple Friend and Relation, was to succeed Mr. B----le in the Chan----r-sh--p of the Ex---q---r, but the Outcry of the People against him, and particularly of his own Connections, forced him to decline it. However this even he turned to his Advantage, if the common Opinion may be credited, that by private Contract, Mr. B--le, now E-l of Sh--n, continues in the Office, and that Mr. M--e receives the Profits of it. This Artifice, tho' it did not restore Mr. M--e to the Favor of the People, yet it suspended their Resentment against him.

It was now too late in the S—ns to form a Party to make Head against the united Force of so many Chiefs; but yet many Symptoms appeared of growing Discontents, and of a general Disapprobation of what had passed. Tho' no Resolution was carried which reflected on the Adm—n, yet there appeared almost an universal Satisfaction, when any Thing sharp was thrown out against the L—d L—t—t; which being observed, his Character was treated with much Freedom; a most mortifying Circumstance to a Ch—f G—v—-r, as the like had never happened to any of his Pred—rs.

Alarmed at these Prognostics of a rising Storm, he resolved to allow no Time for Mischief. Some Forms were still necessary to be gone through before fore the S—n was to end. All the Artifices which could dishonour a G—v—t, were used to waste the little Time that still remained; not-withstanding which, a Resolution was near passing, to vindicate the Honor of the N—n, if the Debate had not been cut short by the Ush—r of the Bl—ck R—d.

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Thus ended the S——ns, as ignominious for the L—d L——t——t, as it commenced unfortunate for the People.

-The Eyes of the Public are now opened, The Spirit of Liberty has succeeded to that of Faction. - * Societies are now formed upon the Principles of the Constitution, not of Licentiousness, to examine into Men's Hearts, to inquire into real Grievances, and to point out the Methods of Redress.—The Cries of Faction are now drowned by the superior Voice of Liberty.—The People, no longer deluded by Party Leaders, expect Redress.—Towards You, My L-d, the Eyes of all are turned: - Upon you they depend for Support. From your just and faithful Representations of their Petitions to his M-------------------------y, they flatter themselves that the intolerable Gr-v-s under which they labour, will have an End. What may they not hope for, from the Descendant of that Great Ruf——ll, who died a Martyr to the Religion and Liberties of his Country. You are coming, My L---d, to g---v--rn a People (however contemptible and ungrateful they may

^{*} Freeholders and others.

be represented by some) powerful and generous; a People sensible of the Op——ssi—ns they have suffered, the enduring them with Patience, from the most inviolable Affection to their R——l M—st—r. A People animated with the same Spirit of Freedom as those from whom they are descended. What greater Glory can there be, than to make such a People happy?

Per Populos, dare Jura. volentes,

Let the Examples of your Gr—'s great Ancestors, be ever before your Eyes. Depend upon the Nat—n, not upon a Faction, for your Support. Whilst the End of your G—v—t is the Good of the Public, your Adm—n will be easy and light, not like that of your Pred—r scandalous and unsettled. And permit me to recommend, from a very great * Man, to your Gr—e, two Maxims which I am sure you must approve; That the Foundation of all good Politics is real Morality; and, That to dread no Eye, and to suspect no Tongue, is the great Prerogative of Innocence.

I am, My L-d,

6 DE 58 &c. &c.

* Lord Bolingbrooke.

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